

THE PROTESTANT ALLIANCE.

(THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, CHAIRMAN.)

I.—THE MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT ACT.

II.—FOREIGN OBJECTS.

THE Maynooth Endowment Act (the 8 & 9 Vict. c. 25) was passed in the year 1845, under the auspices of the late Sir Robert Peel's administration.

The government of the College is vested in a body of Trustees, who are self-elected, and irresponsible, and consist for the most part of Roman Catholic Bishops.

Sir Robert Peel's Act constitutes these Trustees a body corporate and politic, with perpetual succession, and the other attributes of a corporation aggregate; and, notwithstanding the statutes *in mortmain*, gives them power to take and hold land of the annual value of £3,000, in addition to the land already in their possession,—and to take and hold personal property *to any amount whatever*.

The Act also granted the sum of £30,000 to the Trustees for the enlargement and repair of the college; and it contains a provision for its being permanently kept in repair, and from time to time enlarged, improved, and furnished, under the superintendence of the Commissioners for Public Works in Ireland. In addition to which, the Act authorizes the payment of nearly £30,000 per annum, out of the Consolidated Fund, for the board and education of *five hundred and twenty students &c.*, as follows:—

(S. 4.)—Salaries of the President, Officers, and Professors of the College, and for the expense of commons, attendance, and other necessities to be supplied for their use, the annual sum of		£6,000
Carried forward		£6,000

Brought forward	£6,000
(S. 5.)—20 Senior students, or Dunboyne scholars (in addition to £25 each, from the bequest of Baron Dunboyne,) an annual sum of £40 each	800*
(S. 6.)—250 free students in the three senior classes, an annual sum of £20 each	5,000*
(S. 7.)—Commons, attendance, and other necessities for 20 senior students on the Dunboyne establishment, and for 500 free students, at not exceeding £28 each per annum	14,560
(S. 8.)—Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, for purchasing necessary lands and buildings, and for purchasing or erecting buildings and improvements, and for repairs, and fitting up, and furnishing the College from time, upon an average of the last five years, as shown by the returns ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th April, 1851, the annual sum of	1,145
Making the total annual expense during the last five years	£27,505

The whole of these sums, with the exception of the last *item*, are charged on the Consolidated Fund, and are payable annually without any application to Parliament.

Formerly, a few laymen were educated in the College; but, at the present time, all the students, thus supported and educated at the national expense, are being trained up for the Roman Catholic priesthood.

It is now proposed that this Act shall be *entirely repealed*, so that the burden of educating these priests may no longer be borne by the nation but may be thrown upon those who require their services. Should this be done, the Roman Catholics will have no reason to complain of the alteration, for they will be in this respect upon a perfect equality with all other classes. They will then have to educate their clergy at their own expense. This is done by all denominations of Nonconformists, and even by the Members of the Church of England.

Previous to the year 1795, it was unlawful to found any college in Ireland for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. At that period, the students for the Roman Catholic priesthood were educated at various places on the Continent of Europe; but the

* These sums are for gratuities, and are in addition to the allowance for commons, etc., *infra*.

breaking out of the French Revolution, and the general prevalence of infidel and republican opinions suggested that it would be desirable that they should in future be educated at home. An application was therefore made by the Roman Catholics to Mr. Pitt's ministry, to obtain the passing of an Act which should render it lawful for them to establish a college for that purpose in Ireland. The object of the Roman Catholic bishops was, to be allowed to establish a college *out of their own funds*; for, at that time, they never dreamed that they should be able to throw the burden of educating their priesthood upon the funds of this Protestant nation. That this statement of the case is correct, is shown beyond a doubt by what was stated in the House of Commons, by His Grace the Duke of Wellington, on the 29th of April, 1808. The Duke of Wellington, (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) said, "The fact was, that when Maynooth institution was first established, it was not intended that it should be maintained by the public purse. The Memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment prayed for a charter, in order that their funds might be better secured." (Hansard's Parl. Debates, v. xi. p. 91.) Again, on the 5th of May, 1808, the Duke of Wellington said, "that when he had asserted, in a former debate, that the Catholics had originally proposed to support this institution, he had done so on the authority of their original Memorial to Government, a copy of which had been furnished him by Dr. Troy. This Memorial was dated the 14th of January, 1794, and showed that the object in the contemplation of the Catholics at that time was to *be permitted to establish* this institution *with their own funds*." (Hansard, v. xi. p. 122.) The Government consented to their proposal, and procured the passing of an Act, by the Irish Parliament, (35 Geo. 3. c. 21. Irish Stat. v. xvii. p. 514,) which contained the following preamble: "Whereas by the laws now in force in this kingdom, it is not lawful to endow any college or seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and it is now become expedient that a seminary should be established for that purpose"—It then proceeded to enact that certain parties therein named should be appointed "trustees for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining one academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion; and that the said trustees shall have full power and authority *to raise subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion,*" &c.

The 10th section of the Act of 1795 authorized the payment of £8,000 to the trustees, "towards establishing the said academy."

In the years succeeding, the Irish House of Commons voted the following sums to the trustees, viz. :—

In 1796, the sum of £7,000, "to enable them to build a seminary to contain two hundred persons under certain regulations;"

In 1797, the sum of £10,000, "to enable them to complete the building of the Catholic seminary at Maynooth, and for other purposes;" and

In 1798, the sum of £10,302. 5s., "to enable them to complete the Catholic seminary at Maynooth, and for other purposes."

The erection of the college being now completed, the trustees, on the 16th of February, 1799, presented a petition to the House, in which, after alluding to the completion of the building, they stated that *a more faithful attachment to Government, and a more dutiful submission to the laws, must be naturally looked for from the zealous exertions of instructors, who, in the inculcation of those important duties must feel themselves urged by a strong impulse of gratitude, to enforce and illustrate the general principles on which those duties are founded.* The trustees accompanied this loyal petition with an estimate of the expenses of the establishment for the first year, and concluded by praying the House to grant them the sum of £8,000 for that purpose. The Irish House of Commons was caught by the bait, and passed a Bill for carrying out the object; but when this bill was brought into the House of Lords, it was thrown out by a majority of *twenty-five to one!* Thus we see that, in the year 1799, the Irish Legislature distinctly refused to undertake the maintenance of the college.

On February the 25th, 1800, (the year of the Union,) a grant of £8,000 was for the first time made to the trustees "towards defraying the charge of the full establishment of the Roman Catholic seminary, for one year to the 25th of March, 1801." That grant, somewhat increased in amount was continued by the English Parliament down to the year 1845, when the Endowment Act was passed.

We have thus seen that the original intention of the Roman Catholics as well as of the Ministry and Legislature was, that the institution should be maintained by the Roman Catholics out of their own funds, and that, in the year 1799, a Bill, which was considered as implying a pledge for the maintenance of the college, was thrown out by a majority of twenty-five to one.

It has been sometimes asserted that, at the time of the Union, a *compact* was entered into by which the national faith was pledged to the main

tenance of this college. If that be so, of course we shall find that compact in the Act of Union, which was passed expressly to settle and define the terms upon which the Union was to be effected. But the truth is, that the Act of Union makes no mention whatever of Maynooth, either direct or indirect. There is, however, one article in the Act (the 7th) which has been supposed by some persons to include the college under the terms "institutions for pious and charitable purposes."

The 7th article of "The Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland" (39 & 40 Geo. 3, c. 67) provides as follows: "That a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, *for the period of twenty years after the Union*, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct."

If the college was an "institution for pious and charitable purposes," it was guaranteed to receive, for twenty years after the Union, a sum not less than the average which had been granted by the Irish Parliament during the six years before the 1st of January, 1800, for "maintaining" the institution. But a reference to the history of those grants as detailed above will show that not a shilling had been granted towards "maintaining" the College of Maynooth, before the 1st of January, 1800; so that this article when correctly construed secures no right whatever to Maynooth, and the English Parliament could have refused to vote a single grant for its support, without violating the Act of Union. It is unnecessary to say that a contrary course was pursued, and the grant was not only continued but increased. Nor did it cease at the expiration of the twenty years, but it was continued down to the year 1845; though the grants to Protestant charities, such for instance as the Protestant Charter Schools, which in the year 1807 received £43,000, were entirely withdrawn.

Having thus shown that the Act of Union contains no compact upon this subject, we shall be told that there was an *understanding* to the same effect. To this, however, it is enough to answer that the object of the Act was to render the terms of the Union certain and defined, and that nothing might be misunderstood.

Since the year 1820, therefore, the nation has been at full liberty to adopt whatever course it pleased in reference to Maynooth. In doing what

it did in 1845, it acted upon the ground of a supposed *expediency*; and it is upon the ground of expediency, among many others, that the repeal of the Act is now sought.

We have seen that the object originally contemplated by the Legislature was, that the Roman Catholics should be enabled to furnish a domestic education for their priesthood, and that they should no longer be compelled to send them for education to foreign countries where they were likely to become infected with infidel and republican opinions. This argument, however, does not apply at the present time, for there are abundant opportunities for the education of the priesthood at home. Roman Catholics have long been freely admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, where they may receive the secular portion of their education, and graduate upon an equal footing with their Protestant fellow subjects. The Legislature has also recently established three Colleges in Ireland, namely, at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, at which also Roman Catholics are admitted upon an equal footing with Protestants. Here they can receive a liberal education in all the branches of literature, science, and philosophy; and, that nothing might be wanting, it is provided that Halls may be established in connection with the Colleges, for the residence and instruction of students under ministers of their own persuasion. So liberal has the Legislature been, that the governing bodies of the Colleges are empowered to set apart lecture rooms in the respective Colleges for the delivery of lectures upon theology; and it appears from the papers printed by Parliament, that the privileges conferred by these Colleges have been enjoyed and appreciated to a great extent by the Roman Catholics of Ireland. It seems, however, that this mixed system of education has been denounced by the Roman Catholic bishops assembled at the Synod held at Thurles, as dangerous to the Catholic faith. The Pope also has ratified the decrees of the bishops, and all priests having any connection with the Colleges are enjoined by their obedience to their bishops, to withdraw at once from their connection with these heretical institutions. Thus they set up the authority of the bishops and the Pope in opposition to the benevolent intentions of the Legislature, and seek to retain the mind of Ireland in ignorance, under pretence of preserving the Catholic faith from corruption.

Whatever may have been the case formerly, it is now clear beyond a doubt that the Roman Catholics are abundantly able to educate their priesthood at their own expence. They can erect chapels and schools, cathedrals, monasteries, nunneries, colleges, and institutions of every description at an enormous cost; and they are constantly accumulating funds

and endowments for the maintenance of these institutions: At this moment it appears there is property to a large amount in the Bank of England invested in the names of Cardinal Wiseman and his co-trustees. Besides this, they have actually collected a large fund for the foundation of a Catholic University in opposition to the Government Colleges. Why then is the nation to be called upon to submit to the continued burden of paying nearly £30,000 a year for a purpose which it condemns as both impolitic and unscriptural? Why are we to be guilty of the folly of throwing away £30,000 a year upon a body of priests who despise our generosity, and take every opportunity of showing us that they can do without our aid? Surely the time has now come when the nation will no longer be guilty of such gratuitous waste of the public money, but will bethink itself, and apply it to some more pressing and useful purpose.

If the object were in itself commendable, the nation would not grudge the sum of £30,000. No complaint has been heard of the large grants which have been made for the establishment of the three Colleges at Belfast, Galway, and Cork, nor of the annual votes for their support, nor of the much larger sum now annually voted by Parliament for the education of the poor in Ireland. The objections which have been made, are grounded upon the *application*, not the *amount*, of these grants. If this money were applied to a good purpose, the nation would not complain, although the sum voted by Parliament for education in Ireland exceeds what is granted for education both in England and Scotland. The people of Ireland want hospitals, dispensaries, asylums, and institutions of that class, instead of which we send them swarms of priests saturated with the principles of despotism and slavery, crammed with scholastic theology, and overflowing with bigotry and intolerance. This is the remedy provided by a free and religious people for the misery and ignorance of Ireland!

The *inconsistency* of this endowment with the rest of our system shows the pre-eminent absurdity of the policy upon which it is founded. The Established Church of Ireland is maintained upon the ground that it teaches substantially the truth, and because its maintenance is believed to be for the moral and religious well-being of Ireland. Whatever differences may exist as to the policy of such Establishments, there is but one opinion among earnest Protestants that error ought not to be supported and endowed by the State. It is upon the assumption (whether right or wrong) that truth ought to be supported, that the sum of £30,000 is annually voted by Parliament for the support of Protestant Dissenting

ministers in Ireland. These and other sums collected by voluntary societies are expended to enable the ministers of the Gospel to kindle the light of Divine truth in the dark towns and villages of Ireland; and then we vote very nearly £30,000 a year to keep up a supply of between 3,000 and 4,000 priests, the business of whose lives will be to put out that light. If this endowment is to be maintained, and the nation is to be responsible for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, it will surely be the duty of the State to provide suitably for the maintenance of those priests when their education has been completed. The principle, if adopted, ought to be fairly carried out. We shall then be called upon to provide salaries of, say £200 a year, for each of these 3,000 or 4,000 priests. We may thus add from £600,000 to £800,000 to our annual expenditure, by doing an act which could only be looked upon as the legitimate carrying out of our present policy. Let it be borne in mind that the payment of the Roman Catholic priesthood has more than once been advocated both in and out of Parliament, by individuals and parties of great repute and influence; and it is only the stern Protestantism of the people which has prevented a measure of this kind from being actually passed into a law. And when we have done this, where are we to stop? Shall we go on and provide sufficient incomes for Roman Catholic bishops and archbishops, to enable them to maintain a position among the nobility of the land? Shall the Church of Rome once more "lift her mitred head in Courts and Parliaments?" Shall Paul Cullen, the nominee of an Italian priest, take his seat side by side with the Archbishop of Canterbury? and shall the seats once occupied by Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, and Hooper be filled by such men as McHale, and Slattery, and Wiseman?

It was hoped that the conversion of the small annual grant into a permanent endowment of nearly £30,000 per annum out of the Consolidated Fund would have had the effect of permanently securing the loyalty and good conduct of the priesthood. But what was the conduct of the priests? They no sooner succeeded in obtaining this concession, than they advanced and took up a new and bolder position. They set to work to lay the foundations of a mighty Roman Catholic Establishment. The Papal Aggression was a bold and decisive move in the attempt which the Romish Church is now making to recover its lost power and supremacy in this land. The creation of a cardinal archbishop and twelve bishops, with territorial titles, was only what might be expected, after the encouragement which had been held out by the endowment of Maynooth five years before. We have now twelve new ecclesiastical courts established in England,

governed by the despotic maxims of the Canon Law, and exercising jurisdiction, not only over all matters which relate to the spiritual affairs of the Romish Church, but over endowments and charitable funds, schools, chapels, monastic establishments, benefices, marriage and divorce, and an infinite variety of matters which the arrogance of the Romish priesthood will soon drag under their superintendence. All these courts will be superintended by the archiepiscopal court of the archbishop, from whose decrees appeals will be again carried to Rome, "the centre of jurisdiction" to the whole world, round which England again moves in her ancient orbit. No wonder, then, that an Aggression like this alarmed not only our statesmen and patriots, but even the most thoughtful and sagacious members of the Roman Catholic body, who are too well acquainted with the tyrannic conduct of their own priests to wish to see them armed with temporal authority. The aggression thus made upon the authority of the Crown required the direct and emphatic interference of the Legislature for its repression. The Act passed in the last Session was absolutely necessary, and will not be without some effect in neutralizing the power of these new courts. We have gained this point, that the courts of common law, exercising the high prerogative of the Crown, will not recognise even the existence of these foreign importations. The Bull which constituted them, and the decrees they may pronounce, will be treated by the Court of Queen's Bench as so much waste paper. But it must be recollected that though the jurisdiction claimed by these courts has been declared to be illegal, the courts themselves still exist, in defiance of the law. The Papal Bull has not been withdrawn, nor will it be. The power conferred thereby will be exercised, at first secretly and timidly, and then more openly and audaciously, according to time and circumstances; and the courts of common law will be called upon to prohibit and probably to punish the judges of these foreign courts for usurping the prerogatives of the Crown. An empire has been set up by the emissaries of the Pope within the empire of the Queen, and the old struggle for supremacy and jurisdiction is again revived. *We now support, and educate, and discipline the agents of this hostile power, foolishly imagining that we can win them over by bribes.*

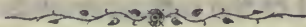
Is it *politic* in a nation, attached to free institutions, to train up a body of priests the business of whose lives will be to sap the very foundations of our freedom, no less than of our religion? It is the assertion of the right of private judgment, and of the sufficiency of Scripture, which constitutes the foundation of our civil freedom as well as of our religious prosperity. The knowledge of the Bible and of the principle of justice and benevolence

which it inculcates has taught the nation to know its rights, and to exercise them as an example to the world. The Bible has thus become the *Magna Charta* of our liberties, civil and religious. Its possession and its use are a glorious privilege, and woe be to those who would take away from us the key of knowledge, and would substitute a blind submission to the authority of the priest, for the exercise of reason, and inquiry into the book of God.

In seeking the repeal of this Act, we do not in any way desire to interfere with the *religious rights* of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. On the contrary, we hold that it is the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. We assert this right for the Roman Catholics, who are not allowed by their priests to exercise it but when they attempt to do so, are denounced from the altar and excommunicated. Neither do we seek to infringe upon any of their *civil rights*. We are proposing the repeal of an Endowment out of the national funds which can in no sense be called a *right*. A national Endowment is not a *right*, but a *privilege*; and like every other privilege, it can only be continued upon some ground of policy which is supposed to justify such an exception to the general law.

It is said, that however desirable it may be to obtain a repeal of this enactment, it is simply *impracticable*. We admit that it cannot be done without some difficulty; and it is, upon this account, that the PROTESTANT ALLIANCE has been formed, one of whose objects is to make the repeal *practicable*. If we succeed in uniting all classes of Protestants, who hold the Scriptural doctrines of the Reformation, the end will assuredly be gained and that at no distant day.

The present is an important crisis in the history of the Church of Christ in which it becomes us all to remember what we owe to that awful struggle which the Pope has impiously called "The Anglican Schism of the sixteenth century." We heed not the idle taunt, because we know that, whatever it may be called, it is still "The Glorious Reformation;" but let us all unite in what is declared to be the great object of the Protestant Alliance namely, "To maintain and defend, against all the encroachments of "Popery, the Scriptural doctrines of the Reformation, and the principle "of religious liberty, as the best security under God for the temporal and "spiritual welfare and prosperity of this kingdom."



II.—FOREIGN OBJECTS.

IMPORTANT as are the intended home proceedings of the Protestant Alliance, the duties devolving upon it in connection with Foreign Countries are scarcely less urgent.

The recent acts of the Papacy in the United Kingdom are parts of a world-wide policy. The Roman Catholic system was brought by the revolutions of 1848 to the very brink of a precipice. We do not allude to any probable loss of her endowments in Roman Catholic countries, but rather to the liberty which for a time existed there of circulating the Scriptures. Had such a state of things continued for a few years, it must have told materially on the religious condition of Christendom. The avidity with which the Bible was read, for instance, in Italy, from Genoa to Sicily, must have soon issued in the formation of Christian congregations, where the Gospel would have been faithfully proclaimed. The Papacy must, to say the least, have been most seriously crippled. No wonder, then, that when the reaction commenced, the court of Rome availed itself of the change in the current to restore its own power. Governments feeling the loss of the affection of their subjects, needed the support of superstition. A priesthood conscious of the little hold which they had on the intelligent and dissatisfied portions of the community, were thankful for the support of Governments. Such is, in a few words, the history of the revived power of Rome on the continent. The tide of priestly influence has thus swept over Europe. In northern and central Italy it has consigned the Scriptures to the flames, and their readers to the dungeon. In the Austrian Empire, it has given back to the Church, so called, the freedom from government control which had been taken from it by the wisdom of Joseph II.; and Protestantism and the circulation of the Bible have suffered in proportion. In Spain, the unchecked power of the Court of Rome has been restored by the late Concordat. In France, controversial tracts, which had freely circulated during the reign of Louis Philippe, have been prohibited, and their publishers cast into prison. The prefects have received orders from the Minister of the Interior to refuse licences to Colporteurs to sell the Protestant versions of the Bible.

In Germany, the universal testimony of right-hearted Protestants is, that Popery is becoming possessed of an amount of power which it has not had for a long period. Even Protestant sovereigns are relying upon the support of the Roman priesthood—the only barrier, as they imagine, between themselves and anarchy. The imprisonment of Dr. Marriott for circulating publications against the Jesuits in Carlsruhe, a half-Protestant city, by the government of the Protestant Grand Duke of Baden, at the instance of the disciples of Loyola, who were then holding a mission there, is but a specimen of the feeling which is stated to pervade many of the Governments of Germany.

While the Papacy is thus siding with absolute Governments against the people, in other countries it is siding with extreme democracy against the Governments. Where it can destroy liberty it will—where it cannot, it will pervert it, and turn it against the government. Holland, England, Ireland, and (across the Atlantic) the United States, are all instances of the priesthood availing itself of constitutional freedom to attack the constitution.

It is as much contrary to the Dutch constitution as to ours to allow the Pope to set up Territorial Episcopates. But Rome is straining every nerve to establish an illegal bishopric of Amsterdam. In the common schools of the United States the Bible is uniformly taught; but the priests are endeavouring to terrify the State Governments into excluding it from the instruction. It is needless to remind our friends of the English aggression, or of the Irish Synod of Thurles.

To pass for a moment from countries under foreign governments, to foreign parts under the British rule—in other words, to our own Colonies: We are there fostering, and wilfully encouraging, a system as hostile to liberty as it is to the governing power. The ancient endowments of Popery in Canada and Malta are a subject for these colonists to deal with, and as long as they choose to submit to such an incubus on freedom, it is not for the parent country to force on a change. But why is the English Treasury to give stipends to a priesthood which defies it? Why are the prelates of the Papacy to receive from the Colonial Representatives of the Crown lordly titles, which are only given to bishops in England because they are Peers in Parliament?—and why, we would ask the colonists themselves, in colonies where the great majority profess themselves Protestants, should the colonial chests be saddled with the salaries of Popish priests and bishops?

We have thus generally glanced at the state of the Papacy abroad. We have rather indicated than proved its general course. That course is

perfectly notorious already; and as soon as it becomes known that an organized body in Great Britain is prepared to receive proofs of the proceedings of the Papacy, facts will flow in from all quarters.

The point which we are chiefly anxious to press upon Protestants is, that if the Papacy is to be dealt with, it must be dealt with universally. The Court of Rome is set upon subduing the world. Well, then! the world, or rather the whole Catholic Church, must rise in resistance to the Court of Rome. It is of no use to deal with a superstition here, and an act of tyranny there, and an endowment elsewhere. We must meet the Court of Rome at all points.

The question then arises—How, in foreign countries, is it to be met?

Our answer will consist in stating the plans which the Protestant Alliance contemplates. Throughout the whole of these we aim at publicity. The policy of Rome is secrecy. Ours is to come to the light. We are persuaded that Rome has only to be known to be abominated. We are certain that our cause has only to be brought forward to be appreciated. The power of truth and right upon the consciences of mankind is great, and we therefore mean to bring it to bear as publicly as possible, both upon friends and foes.

I. In *Foreign Papal Countries*, in instances where it can be ascertained beyond doubt that Christians have suffered for the Word of God, we propose to do three things. We propose to address the sufferers, expressing in suitable terms the sympathy of British Christians in their trials. We shall also, as opportunity offers, address the Governments which permit Christian people to be persecuted—setting before them the reason, the duty, and the policy of allowing free course to God's Word, and freedom to God's worship—suggesting the argument of Gamaliel, that if this work be of man, it will come to nought; but that if it be of God, they cannot overthrow it. We shall invite the friends of religious freedom to co-operate with us, in assisting the imprisoned, the exiled, and their relations; and in exercising influence with the governments; addressing ourselves only to persons who are placed in such circumstances that they cannot suffer for their co-operation,—either British residents, or natives who can venture to avow their principles.

II. In Protestant countries, we propose to call upon leading Christian men to stir up their fellow-countrymen to contend against the Papacy. We have reason to believe, that in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and especially in the United States, such appeals will obtain a cordial reception. It is not for us to dictate what measures Protestants

of those nations should adopt to free their own Governments from the guilt of supporting Rome. It will be for them to judge. But in regard to the oppression of those in every land who take their religion from the Bible, we shall invite our Protestant brethren to concur with us in bringing to bear the sanctified public opinion of Christendom upon such misdeeds.

III. In the British colonies, our design is to arouse the Colonists to co-operate generally with their countrymen at home; and, moreover, to exert themselves to cause the local Governments to withdraw all titles, precedence, or salaries from the priests and bishops of Rome.

Both in regard to Papal and Protestant countries, the Committee of the Protestant Alliance will rejoice to be enabled, by liberal contributions from the public, to communicate with those whom we mean to address, by deputation rather than by letter. We are persuaded that a good moral influence would be exerted upon mankind by such a course. Should, for instance, a well-appointed deputation cross Europe to Italy, conveying the sentiments of the Christians of England—to the oppressed—to those who desire freedom for others to read the Bible—and to the executive Governments—good cannot but result. Such a mission would be notorious through Christendom. Even should the deputation be stopped at the frontiers—which we will not anticipate—a great effect,—perhaps greater than otherwise,—would be produced on European public opinion. If our envoys obtained interviews with the prisoners for conscience' sake, they would greatly encourage them. If they did not, the mission would open the eyes of honest men to the unchanged hostility to freedom of the Roman priesthood. Protestantism, and especially British Protestantism, would be presented to mankind as the friend and advocate of universal liberty of conscience.

Again, should a similar deputation cross the Atlantic to the United States; we cannot doubt that it would kindle such a flame of national and religious sympathy, from one end of the Union to the other, as would obliterate past rivalries and discord between the Christians of the two countries, and bind them together by a band which God would sanction and bless, in seeking freedom for the Bible, and the disenthralment of mankind from the chains of a slavish superstition.

We will not prolong this paper by presenting arguments in favour of the course described. How far God will give it success we know not—how far He may be pleased to employ our feeble agency in counteracting and crippling the mighty power of Jesuitism we know not. But this we

know, that whatever be the probabilities, duty is clear. If to pray and to strive for a free course to the Word were right in apostolic times—to pray and to strive are right now. And we have abundant confidence that He who imposes the duty, will facilitate its execution. Nor can we help feeling that our present position as Englishmen is in itself a great responsibility. That tide of ecclesiastical reaction which has swept more or less across Europe, has broken harmless against the shores of England. We are the only European nation which not only stands erect after the storm, but has power to befriend others. We can speak and write what we will of Rome—priests, princes, and cardinals, notwithstanding; with no restraint but one upon our lips and upon our pen,—that if we say what is untrue, we can be confronted and contradicted. We can visit foreign courts, and foreign prisons, with the certain knowledge that if the authorities can exclude us from their territory, they dare not touch the persons of Englishmen. We can stand before princes without being ashamed, and without being terrified. The hearts of thousands are with us. The eyes of thousands are upon us. England—free, Christian, Protestant England—is the last hope of many a believing soul, and the confidence under God of many a priest-ridden population. With the Bible in our hands and faith in our hearts—with Christ as our Leader, and his people in our train—with a praying church and a prayer-answering God—with no weapons but the moral power of truth, and no friends at court but the consciences of the rulers of mankind—we are persuaded that our warfare is one from which no courageous Christian has need to shrink; while even human policy would suggest that it is easier to carry the campaign into the enemy's country, than to limit ourselves to repelling the war which is even now sounding at our doors.



MANAGING COMMITTEE.

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THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

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